and victimised Uttrakhand people by the police and the administration during the movement for a separate state of Uttarakhand in 1994. But many victimised and injured Uttarakhandis were devoid of above compensation and got no assistance at all.

I request the Government to conduct an inquiry into the matter and pay compensation to the next of kin of the killed as well as those injured and really victimised.

[English]

(vii) Need to probe into the airdropping of Arms in Purulia

SHRI BIR SINGH MAHATO (Purulia) : On 17 December, 1995 a large quantity of lethal weapons was air-dropped by a foreign plane in Khatanga. Gunedih and Baredih Villages of Jhalda Police Station in the district, Purulia, West Bengal. The recovered weapons were AK 47, AK 56, Rocket-launcher, grenade, hand grenade, 9 M.M. revolvers and huge quantity of ammunitions. The area is a part of my constituency which I represent now.

I urge upon the Government to take appropriate action in this regard in public interest.

11.44 hrs.

MOTION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

[Translation]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE) : I move :

> "That this House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers."

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

> "That this House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers."

The time allotted for this motion is seven hours. Specific time is allotted to all the political parties. You may kindly check it yourselves because I do not want to repeat that.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Before I move a motion of confidence on the floor of the House, I would like to pay my humble tributes to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru whose death anniversary is falling today...*(Interruptions)*

When I was first elected to this House, Pandit Nehru was the Prime Minister of India at that time. I had seen him at work for several years. In those days I used to sit on that side...*(Interruptions)* I have not forgotten that side even now. But I used to sit far behind because our number was very small. Today, a change has taken place and BJP has gradually increased its strength and influence and thus first became the main opposition party and now it has emerged as the single largest party in this election. This change did not take place all of a sudden. It reflects the changing process of history.

In the elections held recently, the people have given their mandate. It is high time that we ponder over the mandate seriously. We have emerged as the largest party. We should keep in mind the position obtained by other political parties as well...*(Interruptions)* The Congress party had 260 members in the House when the Lok Sabha was dissolved. Now their number has gone down to 136. This is due to the mandate given by the people. This mandate should be accepted gracefully. It needs some introspection. Their strength has come down to half. The strength of Left Front has also come down from 57 to 52. In West Bengal their strength has dwindled in terms of votes are the Lok Sabha as well as Legislative Assembly seats. Their strength has also gone down in Bihar...*(Interruptions)* The strength of Janata Dal in the previous Lok Sabha was 56 from Bihar which has been reduced to 44 now.

The BJP contested Lok Sabha elections in Bihar in alliance with Samta Party and it has got massive success. On the other hand the strength of Congress has gone down not only in Lok Sabha but in several other states also where they have lost people's faith. Other parties have formed their Governments in those states. Why this change has taken place? What does it indicate?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHIVAJI KAMBLE (Usmanabad) : Mr. Speaker, please stop him. If this goes on unabated, then nobody will be in a position to speak ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : This should also be noticed that the parties which are united together to express lack of confidence against my Government today, had contested the elections on different planks. They contested against one another...*(Interruptions)* They contested the election by levelling serious allegations against one another. There was no alliance among there parties before the election ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DATTA MAEGHE (Nagpur) : What happened in Punjab.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Even today there is no common programme of these allies. first the Government will be formed and the programme will be devised later on... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MRUTYUNJAYA NAYAK (Phulbani) : You are seeking other's support to save your Government.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : What is the basis of your alliance? What is its conceptual basis? This controversy is going on for so many days as to why the President has invited me to form the Government. It has disturbed the sleep of so many people ...*(Interruptions)* some poeple have uttered such words for the President which should not have been used. But what helse the President could do in the post election scanario? Whether he should have called the Congress which was defeated in the elections and lost the mandate and whose rule the people had rejected? Whether he should have called a weird assortment of heterogenous elements which had not come into existence till then?

If the hon. President has invited the BJP as the largest single party he has acted according to the constitutional propriety and the democratic norms ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi) : If you interrupt in this manner then no one would be allowed to speak Whatever you want to say you can say latar on.

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Bombay South Central): He will also be given an opportunity to speak. Then why he is behaving like this?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MUKHTAR ANIS (Sitapur) : It is the members of the Prime Minister's party who are not allowing him to speak.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I have been asked to seek a vote of confidence by 31st of this month. Today, it is 27th. We could have waited till 31st. if we had so desired, and could have brought this motion on 30th. This would have been in accordance with the directions given to us. But, we have come forward with the motion on 27th itself because we have faith in the democracy and it is not our system to build majority somehow. This is not our way. The walls of this House...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SIVAJI KAMBLE : The leader of the House is speaking and they are constantly interrupting him ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I do not mind an interruption here and there, but I should not be prevented from speaking.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have come with the motion today. Three days are left. However, the previous Lok Sabha is witness and the record of the House is a proof to show how the minority was transformed into majority overnight. When the voters were unaware as to what was happening, the honour of democracy was being robbed, at that time honesty was being bargained and horse trading of Members of Parliament was openly taking palce. Since that matter is still sub-judice, I do not want to say much on it. But we saw how a minority Government turned into a majority Government. We too could have resorted to that method. But we refused to go that way. We would like to assure you that we will not commit the sinful act of adopting unjust method, of resorting to corrupt practices or bargaining honesty for coming to power or for remaining in power.

Democracy rests on moral values. Basically that is a morality based system. The previous Government had the option of entering into alliance honestly. There was no need to split opposition parties. There was no need to overstep anti-defection law. The alliance should be formed honestly and transparently. If political parties propose to come together with authentic transparency, they should do so but on the basis of a common programme and not on the basis of their share of participation in the Government. They should not deposit lakhs of rupees in the banks for this purpose. If the country has really entered into the phase of coalition Governments, then the old experiences of 1977 or 1989 should not be repeated. Is it not the demand of the hour? Should not we resolve this?

It has been the history of Congress that first they extend their support, then soon after they draw it? This is the sequence which is coming down from Travancore days. If there is a change in the ideology of the Congress, then we will welcome it. But its history till date speaks a different story. The coalition Government collapse on such issues that have no bearing on the national life. At the moment we need to learn the art of working together. This does not apply only when different political parties come together. This applies within the party as well. I do not know what curse is there on this country. I do not know what is plagueing us today. Whenever there is crisis in the country, people unitedly face it but as soon as it is over, they indulge in fighting one another and create unnecessary and irrelevent issues to undermine others.

12.00 hrs.

I am not an exception to it. My party is also not an exception. This the work which no signle paty can do. We tried to do but we did not succeed. This is for we all to decide collectively. I do not know what political on figuration the nation will acquire tomorrow onwards. But one thing is clear that the Government should follow the middle path, irrespective of whether there is a one party rule or multiparty rule. The Government should be dedicated to the cause of people. Each and every conduct of the Government should be marked by transparency authencity. This did not take place. This did not happen during the last five years. Why? Are we sure of it that this will happen in future?

If United Front comes forward with a programme and assures us that because of political ambition and obsession for power no bitter experiences of the past will be allowed to repeat, only then people may feel a bit assured. Otherwise people are very unhappy. There is an apprehension of instability looming large. There is a concern for the future of India. On 29th May, 1964, as a member of Rajya Sabha, I made a speech while paying my tributes to Panditji. I would like to quote. I had said that Pandit Nehru was a fighter for the cause of freedom and was its saviour. Today, that freedom is in peril.

We will have to protect it with all our might. The national unity and integrity which he championed stands endangered today. We will have to maintain it at all costs. Today, apprehensions are being raised about the future of Indian democracy which was established and made a great success by Pandit Nehru. We have to make democracy successful by maintaining our unity, discipline and self-confidence. That leader has gone, leaving behind his followers. The sun has set. We will have to make our way under the starry nights. This is the period of great test. If we all manage to deicate ourselves to a noble cause that could make a strong, capable and prosperous nation and contribute with a sense of self pride to the restoration of world peace. Then we will be able to pay our real tributes to that great soul. I conclude this part of qotation from my speech.

During the last 50 years we have made enormous progress. Nobody can deny it. At the time of election campaign I had enough materials to launch a tirade against the policies of the previous Government. But everywhere I had said that I was not one of those who deny the achievement of last fifty years. To do so would be fantamount to nullify the achievement of our nation. That would be injustice to our farmers and our labourers and infact it will not be a good gesture towards the common man of this country. At this moment, when fifty years heave already elapsed since independence and we are going to celebrate the golden jubilee of our independence the question that arises in our mind and that should indeed arise is as to what is the condition of this country — and why we have lagged behind? Those countries which came into existance after us, have left us far behind in the race of development. Today we are regarded as one of the poorest country of the world. Here more then twenty percent of the people live below the poverty line. The President's address refers to the villages where there is no drinking water available. We have not been able to make compulsary primary education. Women education is being neglected. To this day the birth of a female child in the family is considered to be a curse in this country. Is it not possible that the Government take steps to mobilise public opinion and create awakening in the society. This is the work which has no room for party politics. We cannot change the course of our nation. There is no dearth of resources in our country and if at all there is then it can be mobilised properly. We can add to our resources. The revenue collected by imposing taxes on the people is not utilized for the benefit of the common man. But whatever resources are available with us they are also not being utilized properly. Where does that money go? By whom it is pocketed? In whose lockers this money goes? Why money is being deposited in the foreign banks even now? What steps have been taken to check it? We are making efforts for getting foreign investment. Foreign capital in welcome. If the foreign capital comes for bringing better technology, infrastructure and for promoting export-import, then we will have no objection to it. I am sure that our communist friends will also not object to it. But the point is whether we are making the optimum utilization of indegenous resources available in the country? Is it not a fact that the menace of corruption has assumed national dimensions. I remember the late Rajiv Gandhi had said that when he sent on rupee from Delhi, only 19 paise reached the people targetted for this money. I asked him as to how that miracle was taking place? He laughed and said that when rupee begins to trickle, it passes through a process. And in that process it continues to get smaller. Then it becomes difficult to identify it. Also, it may disappear. The present condition of rupee is not very good. On the one hand the Governmental expenditure has gone up and still the trend is going unabated. We need support of all the parties for curtailing Governmental expenditure. No particular party can do it. Yes, had our former Prime Minister Narsimha Rao ji having achieved stability of his Government, made some efforts in this direction, then we would have definitely succeeded in this mission. But he was engaged in such activities that these problems failed to draw his attention.

Our foreign trade has gone down. At the beginning of the century it was 10 percent then it came down to 2.5% and now it stands at 0.5%. This is the factual position. This is not for the sake of criticism. The people of the world does not look at us as different political entities. Our neighbouring countries do not make any distinction among us. Whenever we fail, the world laughs at us. Our neighbour pass their comments on us. There is no objection if we fight sometimes. One must fight. It has been said that "Munde Munde Mattir bhenna." All the people have their different lines of thinking. But we should speak out our views fearlessly. But there are some such values of life which as cannot be compromised. One such value is the question of honesty of politicians. We need impectable leadership. Do you know the extent to which this corruption has permeated to the grass root level. There has been fodder scandal in Bihar ...*(Interruptions)* I do not want to go into it as the matter is under investigation. Thus there is no end to it.

Just now, a Chief Minister told me that when he was going to appoint the Chairman of a State Electricity Board, some officers came to him, who wanted to grab the post of Chairman by offering me Rs. one crore, Rs. two crore and five crore. I did not ask him whom he selected for this post. But I have faith on his statement. Today, there is shortage of electricity in the country. We are inviting foreign capital, and we are signing agreements but we are not able to produce electricity required in this country.

I was told that a meeting of the Chief Ministers was convened but they could not arrive at a consensus apparently because of excessive political rivalry. As a result the interests of the country have taken a back seat in the field of power generation. We had fixed a target of 33 thousand megawatt. But the data that we have got to this day reveal that we have been able to add only 13 thousand megawatt to the existing capacity. Uttar Pradesh is complaining of power shortage. When I visited Bihar on an election campaign the people of that state and Mr. Nitish Kumar told me that the state remains without power four days in a week. I do not know ...*(Interruptions* Our ancestors used to prey 'Tamso ma Jyotirgamay,' Lead me from darkness to light. But their able successors are preparing to take the people from light to darkness. Does it not strike us at the core of our heart? Does it call for party based politics?

We have not done anything during the last ten days that would invite criticism against us and if we are given a five years tenure, we will provide a spotless administration. But there is a question of bringing about orderliness in the system of administration that we have inherited. The President's address says that we will take up the work of electoral reforms that has been pending for the last so many years. Where from the expenses in the elections will be met? If black money is accepted for contesting elections then one cannot get out of the web of black money even after elections. This tendency of accepting black money needs to be changed.

The Goswami Committee was constituted. It decided upon the issue of state funding and made recommendations to that effect. During the last session of the previous Lok Sabha the Minister of Home Affairs of the erstwhile Government, Shri Chavan had stated in a meeting of the leaders of the opposition parties that the Government had, in principle, accepted the proposal regarding state funding and that it was under consideration of the Cabinet and the same would be implemented prior to the ensuing elections. It is not known what fate did that proposal meet and whether the meeting of the Cabinet was held or not? It was not a recommendation of large magnitude. I do not claim that it would have plugged all the loopholes of the electoral system. There are many aspects involved in it. But, a step should have been taken in this direction. At times, some friends seem to be in favour of status quo in the present corrupt and costly system in order to serve their vested interests. This should not happen. Stringent measures should be taken to curb the use of black money in elections. We are ready to lend our support in this direction. You, too, should be ready to co-operate if we initiate the steps. The Lok Pal Bill has been gathering dust for several years. Is the Prime Minister above law? Which door should one knock at when one has a grievance against the Prime Minister or allegations are levelled against him. The issue whether the Prime Minister should be brought under the purview of the Lok Pal Bill or not has been discussed for years together.

That day Shri Narasimha Rao had stated that he had given his clearance to bring the Prime Minister under the purview of the Bill. When I asked about the Bill it was not presented. After the adjournment of the House, that Government was ready to promulgate ordinances on matters which could have inflated its Vote Bank but not with regard to Lok Pal. An ordinance could have been promulgated in this regard also. The other day, my friends were complaining about excessive interference of the courts of law. Perhaps Comrade Indrajit Gupta had talked about the judicial activism that day. If the Prime Minister does not discharge his duties, the Executive does not take decisions and keeps matters in limbo and when in reply to a question is asked about his indecisiveness, the Prime Minister, says that not taking a decision is also a decision, then it does not augur well. I am saying so on the basis of newspaper reports. If the news reports are not correct, he can intimate the correct position. Considering not taking a decision as a decision, is a state of culmination of Karmyoga. Country can be administered without taking decisions. At times the Government banked upon procrastination in order to avoid new areas of dispute and left everything to the judgement of the Courts. Now the courts have started giving verdicts in matters which ought to have been decided by the Executive and the Parliament. Why cannot the Parliament discharge its duties and take the responsibilities of the Executive. In order to achieve this, the Executive should be honest and virbrant and it should not delay matters. But, it has not been so. We want to work in this direction. Any Government that comes to power shall have to achieve that end. Otherwise, one the Government may last for 12 days and the other for 6 months. That will be a great injustice to the people of the country. People have performed their duty. The electorate is not responsible for a hung Parliament. We could not probably convey to the voter our message in a proper manner. Sometimes, the poor turn-out of voters caused concern as to whether democracy has lost

credibility in the eyes of the people? They think that the things will go on like this, whosoever forms the Government. Manthara had said, *"Koyi nrip hoye, hamein ka hani."* These words of Manthara will not be quoted throughout the country. Governments will be formed on the basis of horse-trading and defections. The Governments should be based on programmes and assurance should be given that injustice will not be done to the people. Now people will have their say against injustice. The hon. President invited us because we emerged as the single largest party on the basis of our ideology, programmes and policies. Some of our policies have found mention in the President's Address. Mamata ji objected to only one point and I hope she agrees to the rest of the Address. I would also like to know from my other friends if there is anything objectionable in the Address. Is it not the need of the hour to take unanimous decisions, run the Government on minimum common programmes and strive to concentrate on them, leaving aside other issues. However, certain issues need to be deliberated upon.

The biggest allegation levelled against us is that we are a communal party and we lack secular credentials and as such let all the guardians of the so called secularism unite and vote the BJP out of power.

Democracy is a game of numbers which is not in our favour. We have got the largest popular mandate.

[English]

SHRI SURESH KALMADI (Pune) : Only 20 percent...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Kalmadi saheb, it is difficult for others to appreciate what you say.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this aspect should also be debated. Once we had a strength of only two Members in this House. First time, we had four Members.

AN HON. MEMBER : That day will come again.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : In that case, we will face the situation. Today, we are present in largest strength and you stand no where in comparison. But we are humble in our victory. Defeat should pave way for self-introspection

SHRI MRUTYUNJAYA NAYAK : you had emerged victorious what happened later?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : You were ruling the whole country. What is the situation now? If you are content with this situation then I have nothing to say. I do not want to stretch it too far.

Today, people are engaged in deep thinking. The direction of contemplation is now changing in the country. People are re-testing the old conventions. I wonder whether the recommendations of the Constitution framers to secure uniform civil code for the citizens and asking the state to uphold them, were motivated by communal factors? Is that a communal issue? Why cannot we have a uniform civil law when we have a uniform criminal law. Goa has a uniform civil law. Our muslim friends can apprise us of any difficulty they might have with regard to uniform civil code. They may seek some more time to prepare their society for the same. The other parties are also not inspiring them to change with the changing times and amend their Personal law. Personal laws are being amended in Islamic countries. There is a need for some change here also. It is an issue of gender equality but suppose they do not agree to it that formulation of a Uniform Civil Code is in accordance with the spirit of the constitution and now that the Supreme Court has vindicated it. Shall we be put in the dock and branded communal because we are saying so? This matter has nothing to do with communalism.

I felt shocked to learn, from whatever has appeared in the newspapers and I am saying on its basis that as a Prime Minister, Shri Narasimha Rao ji was delivering a speech in Uttar Pradesh before the Muslim Community and he had said that he was nothing to enact such a law against their consent. I do not like, if the hon. Prime Minister of the country speaks such a language. If the Prime Minister has no power in this regard then who has the power in this country? He is the supreme representative of the people.

[English]

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO (Berhampur) : I do not know why the Prime Minister is misquoting me, Sir. What I said was, right from Shrimati Indira Gandhi's days, there was a clear announcement from the Government of India, here in this House that the personal law of a section of people, any section of people, will not be changed without consulting them, without taking their consent and against their consent. This is exactly what I said at that meeting.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the community and the society in which the change is to be brought, should be made prepared for it and there should be no objection in it. This is easy and natural for the democracy but the veto should not be handed over in anyone's hands. Hindu society is dynamic, changes have undergone in Hindu society and the process of change is still going on. Memories have changed. The memory on the basis of which we are working today is our Constitution and Dr. Ambedker, the maker of our Constitution. Our society is not static.

DR. SHAFIQUR RAHMAN BARQ (Moradabad) : He was not the maker of the Muslim Personal Law.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to cite one more example. I would not like to go into the details of this subject. From our neighbouring country....

SHRI QAMARULD ISLAM (Gulburga) : I want that the hon. Prime Minister should not speak much on this topic. Islamic Law is a divine law. Personal law can not be brought in this House forcibly for discussion. No caste can put pressure on it. The Constitution permits this much only.

[English]

It is a divine law and it cannot be changed. Islamic law is a divine law and it cannot be changed.

SHRI I.D SWAMI (Karnal) : You have to accept the Constitution. ...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was going to cite one more example. The infiltrators are coming in a large number from one of our neighbouring countries. There are no proper arrangements at the border. No enquiry is made available. If someone comes for a job and returns after completing it, then it then it is a separate thing. The arrangement of work permit can be made for such people but the report of the Home Ministry says that the infiltrators come in lakhs through the rivers and by hiding in the bushes. This gives rise to a serious situation. This is not the report of our Home Ministry. It is an old report that the people are coming. Now they are raising voices that it should be stopped because it is changing the shape of population in the bordering areas. The discontentment and tension are mounting there. The old rickshaw pullers in Delhi are complaining that they are getting less fare on account of these people since the incoming people are ready to work on cheaper wages.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Madhubani) : It should be, both for the Hindus and the Muslims.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, it has its own impact. Now it is said that do not speak on it and keep mum as it is related to the votes of the minorities. I am at a loss to know, why the other parties do not speak on it. None of the countries can tolerate illegal immigeration in such a large scale. It is alright that it can not be stopped fully but it is a problem and it should be checked. If we raise the voice, it is in favour of the nation and not for the votes. The people should understand it.

[English]

SHRI E. AHMED (Manjeri) : Why are you taking the name of the Muslim society as the whipping boys in everything. You are always referring to the minorities and the minorities. If there is anything, it should be applicable to all...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM : Certain measures have to be adopted for that...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : Mr. Prime Minister, you started very well, I would expect that you would keep it on the track and that you would confine your speech to the Motion of Confidence...*(Interruptions)* You have not brought any controversial point in the President's Address also. You should not bring it here also. It would be better, I am just appealing to you...*(Interruptions)* Then we also would have to change our speakers for the Motion...*(Interruptions)* We have to bring analogy ...*(Interruptions)* It is better if you could avoid it.

SHRI SATYADEV SINGH (Balrampur) : You listen the truth.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South) : What is the truth?...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

It is not the right way...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have always been giving weightage to what Santosh Mohan Dev ji says. He might have received the report when a big demonstration was held in Karimganj on the issue of infiltrators from Bangaladesh. It was not the power show of our party. It was an expression of apprehension of the people. A large number of people took part in the demonstration since they felt that infiltration of foreigners should be stopped. Such a large number of infiltrators will put our future in dark. On that day I had said so in my speech and he had said that I had said right. I had said that it is not the question of Hindu-Muslim...*(Interruptions)* When we keep in mind that the increase in population has more serious impacts, the importance and seriousness of this question is increased. The fateful history of the division of our country is before us. It must be stopped. There should be unanimity on this issue. If you give co-operation then we can shoulder the responsibility of unanimity.

Now I would like to raise one another issue.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani) : Atrocities are committed on the innocent city dwellers in the name of migrants.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : It is wrong.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : There is such a party with you, whose President has said and left it on the cadre of the Muslims of your party to find out those innocents and commit atrocities on them.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Who has left? It is wrong...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : You tell all the things in a right way but the fact is being neglected ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, action shoule be taken against only those who enter by violating the law. We are not in favour and there is no question of extradition of the citizens of our country, even if they belong to any religion or community, specially the Bengalise who are already settled here and the Bengali Muslims as well, who are in a large number in our country...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Bengali is afraid of speaking Bengali. Bengali in Mumbai can not speak his own language...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Mumbai South-Central) The Muslims of Mumbai have supported the Shiv Sena...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI B.L. SHARMA PREM (East Delhi) : Please cite even a single example of Delhi...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI (Howrah) : Sir, a appeal to the Prime Minister to kindly come to the motion under discussion. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : The Prime Minister has yielded to Mr. Patnaik.

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR (Mumbai North-West) : Mr. Speaker, Sir whether anything wrong be said about a particular party here. If he is to say something like this then, he should mention the name also. The reality is something else. We are ready to face that. But I would like to submit that the way he has put forth his ideas in the House is a contempt of the House...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE : It should be expunged from the record.

[English]

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK (Aska) : Mr. Prime Minister, you started so well on your line of persuasion. Many of us thought that we will go and join you, but in the mean-time you touched on points that disuaded us from joining. Do you realise what you have done and why you have done it? When you talk of secularism and non-secularism, you are propagating the voice of non-secularism, and why? That was not your intention. Why have you done it? ...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI LAL MUNI CHAUBE (Buxar) : I am on a point of order.

SHRI RAM NAIK (Mumbai North) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I represent Mumbai here. I got the highest number of votes not only in the entire city of Mumbai but in the whole of Maharashtra. I would like to tell you that no other riot free city with a healthy atmosphere like Mumbai exists in India. We have not suppressed Bengalis there, we have driven out only three foreigners who have infiltrated from Bengaladesh and it is our sacred duty to do so ...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not want such a controversy to be raised here. I was just giving example to show that why we are being branded as non-secular. But why we are being called non-secular. The issues of a Uniform Civil Code and infiltration of Bangladeshis are some of the points which we raise here in the interest of the country. Some people may disagree with us. Now the poison of castism is being spread in the country along with communalism. Which is no less dangerous than communalism. But that is not the point of discussion here because it may hamper the process of alliance with other parties and it creates obstruction in the way of getting the seat of power...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, a very senior Member of this House and an old colleague of mine Shri Biju Patnaik has raised very important issue here. I would like to say that on the issue of secularism we must talk with an open mind and with some seriousless ...*(Interruptions)* The Bhartiya Janata Party has made it clear on more than one occasion that they are committed to the constitution, to the secularism as enshrined in the Constitution. *(Interruptions)* The state should be secular India has always been a secular state. There will be no danger to the secular structure of the country in future. They must understand it ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Hajipur) : How many Muslim M.Ps. are there in your Party...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : This is not the criteria for it. Please do not ask such question ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI NAVAL KISHOR RAI (Sitamarhi) : What happened to the promise made by the BJP in the National integration council for protecting the constitution... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : In such a situation I cannot speak about it...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LAL MUNI CHAUBE : The M.P. elected from Sitamarhi knows very well as to who were responsible for fomenting riots there. He himself is a big rioter and he is speaking here. The rioters who have come here after winning the election wants to save secularism from destruction. They themselves foment the riots. I have a list with me. The responsibility of the riots that took place at Sitamarhi falls on the M.P. of that area ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, India was not born during the last 50 years. It is an ancient nation. It is not a new country, that was born in 1947. The civilisation and the culture of this country is 5000 years old. It is for this reason that when the constituent Assembly was discussing on the question of Secularism or the spirit of Secularism, different views were expressed on it. But the framers

of the Constitution did not incorporate the word secular in the Constitution. The word 'Secular' was incorporated in the preamble of the Constitution during emergency when several leaders were in jails and there was no freedom of expression. At that time amendment to the constitution was brought. Earlier, the opinion was that the preamble of the constitution should and shall not be amended but it was amended and India was declared secular and socialist Republic along with Democratic Republic. I have gone through the discussion on this subject carefully.

At that time every speaker belonging to the Congress Party especially Sardar Swarn Singh had emphasized that their secularism would be quite different from that of the Western countries. He said that since India is a multireligious country and secularism means that there should not be any discrimination against the followers of different religions and all r eligions should be equally t reated. We whole heartedly accept this interpretation of r eligion. This is the quintessence of Hindu ideology. This marks our identity. India is a country of many religions and ideologies. There is no one religious book or prophet in this country. We have believers as well as non-believers in God. Here no one was crucified or was done to death by stoning. This kind of tolerence is found in the soil of this country. They say "Ekoham Sadwipra Bahudha Vadanti" and now that philosophy has gone even beyond that. Ours is a country of different ideologies...*(Interruptions)*

Shri Biju Patnaik has prevented me to raise this issue and now he is inciting me...*(Interruptions)* This is the difficulty. The Ayodhya incideent took place later but we are being branded as communalists and non-secular much before it. This s ort of propaganda from your side is politically motivated and not based on facts...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : Please leave this issue and go ahead.

SHRI MUNAVVAR HUSAN (Kairana) : If you are not communalist then how many muslims have won as MP on your Party ticket...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is an ancient country and it has a way of life which is not confined to one particular community. That way of life is thousands of years old. Every one has contributed in building it...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA (Phillaur) : All that the Hon. Prime Minister is saying about communalism is based on Manusmriti and these communal people are implementing the principles of Manusmriti.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : This country would remain non-communal. India will not become a theocratic s tate...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA : It is the fundamentals of Manusmriti that have enslaved the adivaasis of this country. Baba Bhimrao Ambedkar had condemned Manusmriti and gave a new constitution to this country but you people profess something and in practice do something else.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, I admit that there are some controversial issues which excite the discussion. But infact discussion should take place in a systematic way. If I am interrupted again and again then I wil' not be able to complete my speech. You are more in number so you have come here with a decision not to let me speak ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LAL MUNI CHAUBE : If this practice is allowed to continue you would also not be allowed to speak...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the time has come when we should see our old values in the context of changing situations today. Communalism is not of one kind. If one kind of communalism is stirred up then another kind of communalism will rise. This fact has not been realised to this day.

No call of oppression on the people on the basis of religion and ideological difference has ever been made in this country and will never be made and should not be made and if it is made then he will oppose it to the hilt. We want to give you this assurance. India should remain a secular state. We will never make our country a theocratic state like our neighbouring countries. But does it mean that we do not have our own roots of civilisation? Does it mean that we have no values of life? We have inherited this ancient civilisation and culture which are 5000 years old. We are proud of it. This civilisation and culture have moulded our life. In what direction our life is going now a days?

I recall those days when Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru went to the Aligarh University to deliver a speech after the unfortunate partition of the country. It was a convocation function, I would quote a portion of his speech before you :

[English]

> "I have said that I am proud of my inheritance and our ancestors who gave an intellectual and cultural pre-eminence to India. How do you feel about this past? Do you feel that we are sharers in it and inheritors in it and, therefore, proud of something that belongs to you as much as to me or do you feel alien to it? Was it without understanding that strange thrill which comes from the realisation that we

are the trustees and inheritors of this vast treasure? You are a Muslim and I am a Hindu. We may adhere to different religious faiths or even to none but that does not take away that inheritance, that is yours as well as mine. The past holds us together whilst the present or the future divides us in a split."

[Translation]

These are the views of Nehruji.

There is need to go through again whatever Nehru had written in his last document and which have become part of our curriculam. No one can brand Nehru as Orthodox. Nehru had mentioned that inheritance which we have got through centuries. He had showered praises that we keep our mind open. But it was also said that we are strong enough to stay firm on our feet. Whether this sort of common inheritence and cultural inheritence is permissible? Can we be proud of this past?

Several foreigners came here. They were accepted and admitted to our fold. We did not close our doors for those who were innocent and were uprooted. We accommodated every one. Those who were victims of oppression in thier own country found shelter here. The first mosque was built in Kerala with the permission of the Hindu king. The first Church was also built in Kerala, with permission. This is in our blood. This is in our system. There should not be discrimination on religious grounds. Everyone should have religious freedom. Everyone should be treated equally. But this is not happening. Therefore, problems are arising and people are becoming apprehensive. You will not remove these apprehensions, as you are interested in vote politics. But, I want to say that there is a need to arrive at a consensus on these matters. The Supreme Court gave its verdict on the Shah Bano case. Consensus could have been arrived at and steps towards this could have been taken. But it was not done so.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Prime Minister, would you like to conclude before lunch break, that is within five minutes from now, or would you like to continue after lunch break?

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, five minutes would not be sufficient.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : We may have lunch break. You may continue after lunch break.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this was not discussed seriously. It should be done. We are understanding a stark truth. In this country, Hindus are in large numbers. But they are developing minority camp like feelings. If there is complex among the minority, then I can understand, as they are numerically less. They can talk of protection. And protection should be provided to them. This is the duty of the State. Therefore, when we stress on the nation's security, we also lay stress on the fact that life, property, honour and religion of every citizen of the country should be protected. Along with this, it is also necessary to say that, life, property, and honour of every citizen in the country should be protected.

I was mentioning the foreigners who came to India after suffering oppression in their own country. How can the pains of those people can be forgotten, who have fled Kashmir Valley after being oppressed. A large number of Hindus and also Muslims are suffering due to terrorism. But no party will speak on the need for their rehabilitation and soothing their wounds. If any one speaks, it is us, and therefore we would be branded communal. They are also citizens of the country. It is not their fault.

[English]

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA (Lakhimpur) : At the cost of smaller nationalities...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Sufism developed in Kashmir. It developed out of the interaction between the Hindu and Muslim thinkers. I am aware how the Muslims extend their help to the pilgrims goind to Somnath temple. The pilgrims are taken on the shoulders. The financial offerings...*(Interruptions)* in Amarnath.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : That is not Somnath, but Amarnath...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : All the Naths (God) appear same to me...*(Interruptions)* The Muslim brothers get a share out of it. Who wants to break this tradition? This is being attempted in a planned manner. Attempt is also being made from across the border. Afterall, why was Charar-e-Sharif burnt? Those terrorists did not like that Sufism should spread in the valley of Kashmir, among the saffron beds. They did not want that people of diverse religion and castes should live in harmony. In the post-election scenario, in some quarters, it is expected that India would become weak, unstable and the nation would diverge from its objectives. I want to warn such external and internal forces that any change that would take place, would not be insurmountable. We would adapt and mould ourselves to those changes that would take place. But we would thoroughly safeguard the national interest.

There are some policies in the country, on which there is a broad consensus. The former Government also sought consensus. In has been from the days of Nehru. When I spoke for the first time on foreign policy, I told Panditji that the non-aligned policy was not his personal policy. Even if you had not been here, the country would have followed the path of non-alignement. The country cannot make the mistake of aligning with any particular group. We are a very strong and vast country and can not be cowed down. We fought for our independence and for the freedom of other nations. How can we align with any group? Non-alignment was the right policy which the nation has pursued.

13.00 hrs.

But due to the end of the cold war, new problems are emerging. Security situation has deteriorated all around us. In such a transitional phase, pressures are expected to rise - economic pressure as well as security pressure. As far as our Government is concerned, we will not succumb to any pressure. This assurance I want to give you. And I am sure that the entire nation and the House will extend its cooperation to me in this matter.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would conclude my speech after lunch.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Prime Minister, I should inform you that the total time available for the BJP is one hour and fifty-six minutes out of which one hour and seventeen minutes have already been consumed.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I am just informing. The Prime Minister can take any amount of time.

(Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : What about the interruptions?

13.01½ hrs.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE: PANEL OF CHAIRMEN

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, I have to inform that under Rule 9 of the Rules of Procedure, I have nominated the following Members as Members of the Panel of Chairmen :

1. Shri Chitta Basu
2. Shri Nitish Kumar
3. Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee
4. Shri P.M. Sayeed
5. Shrimati Vijaya Raje Scindia
6. Prof. Rita Verma

13.02 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

14.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled After Lunch at One Minute past Fourteen of the Clock

(Mr. Speaker *in the Chair)*

MOTION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS - CONTD.

[Translation]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, while concluding my speech, I want to raise one issue.

There is unanimity in the House and in the country that due to historical reasons and due to the shortcomings in our social set up, justice has not been meted out to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Equal opportunity was not available to them and therefore they kept on lagging behind. They could not keep pace with the other groups of the society. The framers of our Constitution had reflected on this and provided for reservations, for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes, who are socially and educationally backward. All decisions on reservations were taken unanimously. There has been a consensus on this. After the verdict of the Supreme Court on this issue, it has been decided that regarding reservations for the Backward Classes, status quo would be maintained, i.e., in those states where reservation is more than 50 percent, it would continue. But in other States, reservations for the Backward Classes should not exceed 50 percent. Dr. Ambedkar also, in the Constituent Assembly supported the view that the reservation limit should be 50 percent. The remaining 50 percent should be left for competition. In this, the Supreme Court also discussed the issue of creamy layer. It was of the view that a Committee should be set up to identify the creamy layer. The backwards among the Backwards should be benefited first. Late Shri Karpoori Thakur of Bihar was concerned for the poorest among the poors. Those among the Backward Classes who are prosperous, who have lands, have influence in the village, are capable of progressing on their own. They are capable of standing on their